IMPORTANT CONCRESSIONAL PROCESDINGS.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE RESOLUTIONS.

Speeches of Senators Cass and Butler

History of the Foreign Policy of the United States.

EXCITING SCENES IN THE HOUSE THE NEW YORK BRANCH MINT BILL.

Difficulty in Procuring a Quorum. &c., &c., &c.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

Senate. WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1853.

VACANCIES IN COMMITTEES, ETC.

Mr. Ress. moved, and the Chair was authorized, to fill the vacancy in the Committee of Post Offices and Post Reads, in place of Mr. Upham.

Several petitions were presented. Mr. Papers introduced a bill changing the law relative e bail, in civil cases, in the District of Columbia. It bolishes all right to demand ball in any civil case.

Mr. Underwood spoke in favor of the bill, and it was

Mr. BADGER introduced a joint resolution for the relief

RECORDER MILES. REFERRED.

RECORDERIAN STATUE OF WASHINGTON TO BE ERROTED, ETC.

Mr. SHIKLDS reported back the House bill appropriating \$56,600 for the equestrian statue of Washington. Mr. Shields said that it had passed the House unanimously, and hoped it would do the same here.

It was taken up, and passed unanimously,

Several reports were made.

Mr. MANGUM offered a resolution directing inquiry into the propriety of purchasing Espy's conical ventilator.

Mr. Souls offered a resolution calling for information from the State Department relative to claims of American eitizens against Hayti. Adopted. Mr. Pearce offered a resolution for printing Mr. Stans-bury's report of the World's Fair, held in London. Re-

The act for the relief of the widow and children of Mc

Kee, of Kentucky, was passed. THE DESCISSAL OF THE SICARAGUA MINISTER, MC. Mr. BROOKE's resolution, calling for the reasons why of heist relations with Senor Marcoleta, the Nicaraguan Min ister, were suspended, was, by consent, withdrawn, with

a view to be offered in Exective session. The Pacific Raitroad bill was taken up and postponed. NEW SENATOR FROM INDIANA.

Mr. BRIGHT presented the credentials of John Pettit Senator elect from Indiana, who appeared and was sworn. THE MANROE DOCTRING, RESOLUTIONS. SPEECH OF GEN. CASS.

The following resolutions, introduced by Gen. Cass on the 4th inst., were taken up as the special order

of the day:—

Be it resolved, That the United States do bereby declare that the American continent, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any Europeas power; and while existing rights should be respected, and will be, by the United States, they owe it to their own safety and interests to announce, as they now de, that no future European colony or dominion shall, with their consent, be planted or established on any part of the American continent; and should the attempt be made, they thus deliberately declare that it will be viewed as an actoriginating in motives regardless of their interests and their safety, and which will leave them free to adopt such measures as an independent nation may justly adopt in defence of its rights and its power.

And be it further resolved, That while the United States disclaim any designs upon the island of Caba, inconsistent with the laws of nations, and with their duties to Spain, they consider it due to the vast importance of the subject to make known in this solemn manner that they should view all efforts on the part of any other power to procure possession, whether peaceably or forcibly, of that island, which, as a naval or military position, must, under circumstances easily to be foreseen, become dangerous to their southern coast, to the Gulf of Mexico, and to the mouth of the Mississippi, as unfriendly acts directed against them, and to be resisted by all the means in their power.

Mr. CASS, (dem.) of Mich., took the floor and

Mr. Cass, (dem.) of Mich., took the floor and spoke as follows :
Mr. President:-The question of the re-coloni

zation of any part of this hemisphere, by the European powers, has occupied the attention of the American people for many years, with more or less interest, as passing events seemed to render the effort more or less probable. The subject, as well as the principles involved in it, has been so often discussed, that I do not propose to enter into a very full examination of our rights and condition, connected with this important topic, but rather to present the general considerations belonging to it.

Two Presidents of the United States have, by

public acts in their messages to Congress declared and maintained the principles respecting American exemption from European dominion which are laid down in the first of the resolutions before us, and have distinctly and satisfactorily established, not only our own right, but our duty to do so, as one of the great elements of our national safety and pros-

"We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers," said Mr. Monroe, in 1823, "to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this temisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies, or dependencies, of any Kuropean power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments which have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

"The people of the United States cannot, therefore, view with indifference," said Mr. Polk, in the same spirit, in 1845, "attempts of European powers to interfere with the independent action of the nations on this continent. The American system of government is entirely different from that of Europe, Jealousies among the different sovereigns of Europe, lest any one of them might become too powerful for the rest, has caused them anxiously to desire the establishment of what they term the 'balance of power.'"

"It cannot be permitted to have any application." "We owe it therefore to candor and to the am

"It cannot be permitted to have any application on the North American continent, and especially to the United States. We must ever maintain the principle, that the people of this continent alone have the right to decide their own destiny. Should any portion of them, constituting an independent State, propose to unite themselves with our confederacy, this will be a constituting for them and us to determine, without any constituting an independent of the manufacture of t power' which they may desire to maintain upon this continent. Near a quarter of a century ago, the principle was distinctly announced to the world, in the annual message of one of my predecessors, that 'the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.' This principle will apply with greatly increased force, should any European power attempt to establish any new colony in North America.'

In some remarks upon this subject in the Senate a few days since, I alluded to, rather than considered, the general grounds upon which this claim of independent action for the nations of the American con-tinent rested for its assertion. I shall not repeat these views, contenting myself with saying that this right of exclusion results from the condition of this continent, and from those general principles of the public law of the world, by which it protects the inerest and safety of nations in the varying circum stances in which they may be placed. The history of that code shows that it has a power of adaptotion to the advancing condition of nations, and that rigid inflexibility is not one of its attributes. The changes istroduced into it by the discovery of America, in the etablishment of the principles of occupation and set-Dement, are familiar to all, and furnish an illustration of this progressive improvement. The right of recolonization would necessarily lead to the renewed indeed, to the perpetual—domination of European powers; and their colonies, wherever planted, would become parties with the mother countries in all their wirs, though far beyond the true sphere of their causes and objects. We should thus find ourselves, in juxteposition, it might be, and, at any rate, with-

Such a State of things, bringing wars to our coast, to our inland boundaries even, and interrupting the peaceful and proftishle avocations of a whole continent, to gratify the price or jesslows, or some other equally unworthy passion, of ministers or mistresses, where these are the depositors of power, would be "dangerous to our peaceand safety."

But I do not know that dongsteral principle of the price o

a claim a title which carries with it dominion and so-vereignty, treaty or no treaty. These occurrences announce that our declared policy of exclusion will be still further disregarded, unless authoritatively re-affirmed in the name of the American people. An experiment is making upon our forbearance, or rather upon our apprehension, and as it is resisted or sub-mitted to, it will be abandoned or pushed to results which no nation now ventures openly to avow. It is but a few years since that a principle looking to an American balance of power was announced by the French prime minister, M. Guizot, in the Cham-ber of Deputies, in relation to occurrences at Buenos Ayres, utterly inconsistent with the true American doctrine. And no doubt our own negligence, or rather our timidity, has encouraged this spirit of presumption, and led to the belief that we do not in-tend to carry out our principles, and that therefore

Ayres, utlerly inconsistent with the true American doctrine. And no doubt our own negligence, or rather our timidity, has encouraged this spirit of presumption, and led to the belief that we do not intend to carry out our principles, and that therefore they may be safely disregarded by other nations. I repeat, that the nature of our government furnishes a satisfactory solution of this course of foreign policy. This annunciation of our views upon this subject was intended to warn the powers of Europe of our policy, and thus to prevent the violation of its principle. But upon this, as upon many other occasions, we halted in our course, and did not come up to our work. We did not keep on the line of political knowledge, as Mr. Canning said. We should have added the solemnity and the force of a legislative concurrence to these executive declarations. Such annunciations, when made by the head of a European State, are made authoritatively, because he who issues them has the power to enforce them. They become settled maxims of policy, and other nations are aware that they cannot be interfered with, except at the hazard of war. But it is far different here. Great principles of national conduct depend essentially upon public sentiment, and can only be enforced in the last resort by the action of Congress. Public sentiment has, it believe, with almost unexampled unanimity, approved this principle, but Congress: Public sentiment has, it believe, with almost unexampled unanimity, approved this principle, but Congress has never. by action or declaration, given it the sanction of its authority. That decisive measure should have been taken when the executive first promulgated the doctrine. The claim, therefore, has rested barren among our archives, only to bear certain fruit when the legislature of the republic adopted it as its own. An able and distinguished Senator from Ohio, (Mr. Allen.) now no longer among us, seeing the importance of this policy, and present of the result of the result is policy, constered the occasion p

city.
It is impossible but that this stated things should

it is impossible but that this stated things should have stiracted the attention of Europan statemen, and have given rise to schemes, more less matured, for turning the circumstances to the acantage of the two great powers most likely to interes, because most interested, and most capable of beking their interference felt.

We cannot disguise from ourselves the our progress and prospects, while they are a resoach to many of the governments of the Old Wad, have excited their enmity by the contrasts the schiely, and by the dangerous example they offer to be oppressed masses, inviting them to do as we have done, and to become free, as we are free. He will does not know that there is not a government in lrope which is a friend to our institutions, has my to learn of the impressions that our past and prent, and probable future, are producing among tym. And, while we should watch their design with constant, even with jealous care, it day not become ver to pagnify either our over

danger or their power. I have no fear of a direct attack upon this country. I do not believe that such a project is even among the reveries of the most dreaming statesman now on the stage of action. But what we have to apprehend is, plans for arresting our extent and prosperity, the seizure of positions by which we might be annoyed and circumscribed, and the creation of an influence and of schemes of policy offering powerful obstacles to our future advancement. Motives have always existed and been in operation for checking our progress, but recent events have added, as well to their numbers as their gravity. We have acquired an extensive territory upon the shores of the great occan of the West, and our flag now waves in the breeze that comes from the islands and continent of Asia. Think you, Mr President, there is a maritime nation in Europe which does not desire that every possible obstacle should be interposed in the way of all communication between the Eastern and the Western portions of this magnificent republican empire? Not one. And Nicargua routes, and Panama routes, and Tehuantepec routes, and all others, if there are any others to be used by us, are so many abominations in their eyes to be tolerated only till they can be closed upon us by the occupation of commanding positions, wherever opportunities can be found or made for selzing them. Considerations of this nature, far more than their intrinsic value, give importance to Honduras, to the Colony of the Bay Islands, to Sonora, to Chihuahua, and to other points, where European intrigues have been at work to obtain possession. All we want is a free and equal field for exertion, and if we have not industry and enterprise enough to hold our own way in the great career of advancement, we deserve to fall behind our rivals and contemporaries, and ought to find no one "to do us reverence." But I have no fear of this, nor indeed has any one else. I have no fear of this, nor indeed has any one else. It should, therefore, be a cardinal maxim of our policy to pre

sibility.

But, it is not a little curious, that it was known here that such a movement would be made before we had any actual information of its occurrence, and it was understood to be under the direction of French interests and with the design of French acquisition. I received a letter myself, from a quarter I am not at liberty to disclose, some days before we heard of the enterprise, which I mentioned to my colleague, and to other gentlemen, foretelling the movement, and coupling it with designs of permanent annexation; and a document has since reached this country which is worthy our attention, and which goes far to confirm these anticipations. It is a memoir, published recently at Paris, by Mons. Dupasquier du Dommartin, "for the purpose of drawing the attention of European powers, and especially of France, to the purpose of colonizing Sonora and Northern Mexico, as the only means of checking the rapid and formidable growth of the United States, and preventing forever the acquisition of a railroad route from the Mississippi to the Pacific occan. The writer has devoted himself for some time to the careful study of this subject, has thoroughly explored the region of which he writes, and has laid the foundation for the policy he recommends by procuring, through the aid of the French Minister in Mexico, large grants of land, for the purpose of colonization, from the local authorities of Sonora and Chihuahua."

It is well remarked by the New York Times, to which paper I owe the above extract, as well as the

lonization, from the local authorities of Sonora and Chihuahua."

It is well remarked by the New York Times, to which paper I owe the above extract, as well as the translated memoir, that the fact of the commencement of such a colony, with the open avowal of such a purpose, is of itself sufficient to command the prompt attention of the American people and government. And the interest is increased by the consideration that such an appeal is thus publicly made for co-operation in the plan—made, too, in the French capital, where no such publication could appear without the consent of the government—that a French company obtained exclusive grants in Sonora, and that an attempt has been made to wrest that region, by arms, from Mexico. All these may by possibility be accidental coincidences, and not co-operating causes; but the suggestion requires a good deal of national charity before it can become even credible. I wish there was time to lay this memoir before the Senate, for it is a significant document, advocating the very policy, from which we have so much to fear in all our foreign relations. But I must confine myself to a very general summary of it. \* The writer adverts to our commercial interests, and to nuch to fear in all our foreign relations. But I must confine myself to a very general summary of it. The writer adverts to our commercial interests, and to their extension, to our object to obtain absolute command of the commerce of the world, and to the certainty with which our projects of aggrandizement will be effected, from the wonderful progress we are making, and shall make, unless Europe interferes to prevent it. He then considers the condition of Mexico, with a view to show, that from her state of weakness and division she will fall a prey to the grasping rapacity of the United States, unless saved by European colonization. He also gives a marrative of his explorations in Mexico, and of his efforts to lay the foundation for carrying his designs into effect. This brief abstract must suffice for the general purpose I have in view.

have in view.

I shall add to it the sammary made by the author himself. He says: "From the preceding there result two facts—
"First, that Mexico possesses the key of the
Northern continent, of the Atlantic and the Pacific,

by land, and by these two seas, of all the commerce which is carried on there. "Second, that the existence of Mexico, pressed on all parts by the United States, hangs only by a

"The whole question now is reduced to knowing if Europe will permit the United States to obtain so

much power."

A French periodical, of high and established character, Annuaire des Deux Mondes for 1852, has some remarks strongly corroborative of the importance of the suggestions of Mr. Dupasquier du Dommartin. "Some attempts," says that journal, "to afford a remedy for Mexican difficulties, have meantime been recently made. We mention the continue been recently aided by the French Minister." He who supposes that a French diplomatic agent would take such a step without the instructions of his government, knows nothing of that punctilious sentiment of duty which animates his corps, and little of the responsibility he would encounter. "Three hundred Frenchmen." says our authority, "collected from different parts of the republic, are already settled upon the lands granted by the government. Within a few years, a Frenchman, M. Dupasquier du Dommartin, has shown a lively interest in these projects of colonization." \* \* \* \* "This, (the adoption of his plans.) will be the surest dyke against the usurpations of the American race." \* \* \* \* "There is also involved the great interest of England for Europe, in not allowing to be accomplished, in spite of her, perhaps against her, and to her detriment, this new dismemberment of the Spanish American empire." The Courrier des Elats Unis, published at New York, the well-known organ of the French government in this country, in an article, a few days since made a very pregnant allusion, whether carelessiy or carefully I know not, but certainly well worthy of attention. "As yet," says the Courrier, "France has not set her foot on the American continent. We much power."

A French periodical, of high and established charmade a very pregnant allusion, whether carelessly or carefully 1 know not, but certainly well worthy of attention. "As yet," says the Courrier, "France has not set her foot on the American continent. We may fear what she will do, we admit, but, in good faith she does not yet merit the least crimination." This is honest enough, indeed, whether intended as a prophecy or as a warning. It may be that it will be found expedient to irradiate the new empire with the lustre of conquest, and it also may be that the great augmentation of the French navy is connected with the designs upon this continent so distinctly portrayed in the quotations! have made. Nothing is lost by a provident forecast.

Now, it can hardly be doubted by any man who is familiar with the course of European interposition, that if the effort just made to overthrow the Mexican government in Sonora had succeeded, ere long that country would have passed into the possession of France, unless prevented by our remonstrances, or by armed intervention. As it falled, we shall not know its true history until we read it in another attempt, and perhaps a successful one. That, however, will not be made, if we are true to ourselves, by announcing and continuing to manifest a determination to resist it, or any similar scheme of European aggrandizement.

It is obvious, from the foregoing recapitulation,

grandizement.
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It is obvious, from the foregoing recapitulation, that our policy and purposes are attracting the attention of Europe; and whatever difference of opinion may prevail respecting the true origin and objects of the recent movements in Sonora, it is equally obvious that we may look for similar explosions, from time to time, with results far more injurious to us, unless anticipated and prevented by a prompt, bold, and decisive declaration, made to be enforced with all our power, should circumstances be grave enough to require us to put forth our whole strength.

If, then, we have a right to insist upon this principle of American exemption, and if the condition of things here and clsewhere may render the exercise of this right essential to our interest and our safety, and still more, if the original annunciation of the doctrine meet, as it unquestionably does, the general approbation of the country, what objection can where be to its ratification by Congress, the depository of so much of the power of the American people? Why this course is rendered necessary I have already explained, and shown that the time which has intervened since its first proclamation, and the circumstances which have almost reduced it to a dead letter, have produced the impression which evidently pretails in Europe, that we are not prepared to culorce

it, as the war-making authority has refused er segleted to sanction it. Why, I repeat, withhold this acton, and leave us thereby to encourage untoward events which due firmness on our part might anticipate and would probably prevent? The decree stads recorded in the history of our own executive act. It is essential to its vitality that it should now take its place in the acts of the legislative department. Why not? Do you mean to leave it without effet, and abandon it to its fate, and not even attempt to enforce it? If so, it would be much more holorable to repeal it. Or do you desire its efficient acton in great exigencies which may come-probably, indeed, will come?—for, if you do, you must forly it by the declaration of your zealous concurrence, and, if need be, your powerful co-operation. Or are we afraid to speak out boldly, plainly, as becomes the American people, trusting to the miserable poley of expedients, instead of asserting or rights and our determination to maintain them? It may be consoling to observe, at least for those who need the consolation, that a legislative declaration would, to say the least of it, have a strong tendency to prevent attempts which, without such an imposing measur, would doubtless be made, for assuredly the contest with the United States for the acquisition of territory in North America, the very seat of our power, would not be hazarated a without very powerful considerations, which it is difficult to foresee, in the face of the exertions of this country putting forth all its strength.

Se nuch for this project of re-converting the

Se nuch for this project of re-converting the American continent into European colonies, and for the position it is our duty to assume and maintain in relation to it. And now for the second resolution, which looks to the present and the future of the Island of Cuba.

But before proceeding to the consideration of it, it is proper to remark that its form has provoked a good deal of animadversion and some opposition, because the desire of the United States to purchase Cuba is not distinctly announced upon this occasion.

Mr. President, it is an occasion which is not appropriate to such a declaration. Our present purpose, in this appeal to the world, is to announce our policy should any other nation attempt to obtain possession, by the consent or without the consent of Spain, and in the conviction that such a solemn procedure will have a tendency to prevent designs which might otherwise be undertaken. But our purchase of Cuba is a question between us and Spain, and requires no public annunciation to other nations, and to make it would be a sacrifice of our own self-fespect.

So far as respects my own personal views, these I have already explained to the Senate. I desire the possession of Cuba—carnestly desire it, whenever we can justly obtain it, and the sooner that time comes the better, for then will be finally settled one of the most delicate questions—the most delicate, perhaps, in our foreign policy, always liable to embarrase us by grave conjunctures more easy to be foreseen than to be guarded against. As to the means—though, as I have already said, I am prepared to advocate its purchase, even at the most liberal price, still I should prefer its acquisition by the action of the people of Cuba—and a noble tribute it would be to our institutions—in the exercise of their power as an independent nation, could they succeed, by any arrangement with Spain, in procuring her recognition of that condition, or should they be able and prepared to establish their right to a place in the family of nations.

There are two q

defence, and seize the nect of a friendly power—a. Danish fleet, for example—as a mere instrument of maritime supremacy.

The true principle is well laid down in our own legislative history, and was announced in the resolution of Congress of March 3, 1811, which declared that "Taking into view the peculiar situation of Spain and of her American provinces, and considering the influence which the destiny of her territory adjoining the Southern border of the United States nay have upon their security, tranquility, and commerce, therefore—

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, Tlat the United States of America, in Congress assembled, Tlat the United States, under the peculiar circumstances of the existing crisis, cannot, without serious inquietude, seetany part of the said territory gass into the hands of any foreign power; and that a due regard to their own satty compels them to provide, under certain contingencie, for the temporary occupation of the said territory, they at the same time declare that the said territory they at the same time declare that the said territory is their hands, remain ambient to future nego-

they at the same time declare that the said territory shall, in their hands, remain subject to future negotiations."

And in the Act of Congress passed on the same

And in the Act of Congress passed on the same day, for the purpose of carrying this declaratory resolution into effect, it is provided that the President "Be authorized to take possession of the country east of the Perdido river and south of the State of Georgia and of the Mississippi territory," among other events, in case it should be delivered up by the local authority, "or in the event of an attempt to occupy the said territory by any foreign government."

This is our doctrine and our policy; and the very proposition of the French and British governments to air own, to regulate, by a tripartite treaty, without the participation of Spain, the future condition of Cuba, is itself a concession of the right to direct and contact peculiar positions, upon whose fate important interests depend.

Does the island of Cuba present those paramount cansiderations, connected with our safety and prosperity, which justify the United States in the exercise of a vigilant supervision over its destiny, and in

cise of a vigilant supervision over its destiny, and in the adoption of decisive measures for its possession, shuld any other nation seek to obtain it by force or by purchase? The importance of the question, rather than any difficulty in its solution, deserves a passing consideration, and in referring to it I must repeat views I have heretofore presented to the Senate upon this subject.

passing consideration, and in referring to it I must rejeat views I have heretofore presented to the Seaate upon this subject.

The Gulf of Mexico is the reservoir of the great river of the North American continent, whose importance it is as difficult to realize as is the value of the country which must seek an outlet to the ocean through its waters. That country is nearly equal to all Europe in extent, embracing twenty-five degrees of latitude and thirty-five of longitude upon the great circles of the globe. This basin extends from the summit of the Alleghamy to the summit of the Rocky mountains, and its population now equals eight millions. The man yet lives who was living when almost the first tree fell before the woodman's strole in this great domain, and the man is now living vho will live to see it contain one hundred millions of people. Already the hardy Western pioneer has crossed the barrier of the Rocky Mountains, and the brest is giving way before human industry upon strote in this great contain one hundred millions of people. Already the hardy Western pioneer has crossed the barrier of the Rocky Mountains, and the Brest is giving way before human industry upon the very shores that look out upon China and Japan. The Hississippi is the great artery of this region, whice, drawing its supplies from the fountains of the Nort, pours them into the ocean under a tropical sun, and drains, in its own course, and in the course of its mighty tributaries—tributaries in name, but equals and rivals in fact—the most magnificent empire which God in his providence has ever given to man to reclaim and enjoy. I have myself descended that great stream two thousand miles in a birch cance, admiring the country through which it passes, in a state of nature, and lost in the contemplation of what that country is to be when subdued by human industry. The statistics of such a region, in years to come, is a subject too vast for calculation. Its extent, tertility, salubrity, means of internal navigation, and the character of the people who will inhabit it, baffle all efforts to estimate its productiveness, the tribute which its industry will pay to the wants of the world, and the supplies which the comfort and habits of its people may require.

During the palmy days of Napoleon, it is said that one of his projects was to convert the Mediterranean into a French lake. England has nearly done what defield the power and ambition of the great conqueror. She has almost converted it into an English lake in time of war. Gibraltar commands its entrance: Balta the channel between Sicily and Africa; and the Ionian Islands the waters of the Levant. There were good leasons for believing, a short time since, that England was seeking to obtain a cession of the island of Crete, the ancient kingdom of Minos, which would give her the port of Canca, that I found one of the most magnificent harbors in the world, equally capacious and secure. If England, in the pursuit of the same system, should acquire similar commanding

positions on the Gulf of Mexico, that great reservoir would become a more clausum, and no keel would plough it, nor canvas whiten it in time of war, but by her permission. Now, sir, looking to the extent of our coast in that direction, to the productions which must pass there to seek a market, to the nature of our population, and to the effect upon all these which a permanent naval superiority would produce, where is the American who is not prepared to

would carry on, in all times of hostilities, from her various positions which would encircle the Gulf-from the Bahamse to Cuba, and to Yucatan? And who, also, can fail to see that, even in time of peace, her many harbors would become places of refuge for a certain class of our population, and that perpetual collisions would occur, involving the peace of the two countries?

The Gulf of Mexico, sir, must be practically an

American lake, for the great purpose of security, not to exclude other nations from its enjoyment, but to prevent any dominant power, with foreign or remote interests, from controlling its mavigation. It becomes us to look our difficulties in the face. Nothing is gained by blinking a great question. Prodent statesmen should survey it; and, as far as may be, provide for it. We have, indeed, no Mount Carmel, like that of Judea, nor prophet to ascend it and to warn us against a coming storm. But the home of every citizen is a Mount Carmel for us, whence he can survey the approaching cloud, even when no bigger than a man's hand, which threatens to overspread the political atmosphere, and to burst in danger upon his country.

So long as Cuha is held by its present possessors neither we nor the commercial world have anything to fear from the projects of England or France, for the considerations of the consideration further, for he who is incredulous to their force could not be driven from his incredulity by any effort of mine.

Such being the intimate relation between this island fortress and our safety and prosperity, are there such indications of danger as call upon a provident nation of considerations further, for he who is incredulous to their force could not be driven from his incredulity by any effort of mine.

Such being the intimate relation between this island fortress and our safety and prosperity, are there such indications of danger as call upon a provident and the cons

States."

Besides, no man can look at the aspect of Europe Besides, no man can look at the aspect of Europe without feeling assured that, from day to day, collisions may arise between nations, and internal convulsions may shake the very frame of society, and wars may thus break out, extending their effect through the globe. The Spanish monarchy, it may be, is incapable of rejuvination. I do not know how that may be, and I leave it to a wiser or to a rusher man than I am to speak confidently. But certainly that kingdom is marked with the signs of some approaching catastrophe. If the new Freuch empire follows the traditions, as it inherits the name and the institutions of the old, which rose and fell with its founder, the greatest name, in my opinion, in modern if not in ancient European history, it will soon make itself felt in the Hesperian peninsular.

its founder, the greatest name, in my opinion, in modern if not in ancient European history, it will soon make itself felt in the Hesperian peninsular, and become the arbiter of its fate. To rely, as some profess to do, upon the security which the present state of things in Europe gives to the Spanish dominion in Cuba, is to negfect the most obvious dictates of policy, and to abandon an object of vast importance the mere chance of events.

The correspondence to which I have just alluded gives rise to some serious redections. Before adverting to these, however, I desire to express my warm approbation of the letter of Mr. Everett. It is worthy of his character, and it is marked by a lofty patriotic American feeling. I have seldom seen a document more conclusive in its argument, or more beautiful in its style or illustrations. If it had aunonunced openly that we desire to purchase Cuba, and that declaration would have been appropriate to the occasion, I should have given to it almost my unqualified adhesion. But even with that omission, I feel proud of it, as an American state paper.

And I thank Mr. Everett for the repress or retort.

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And I thank Mr. Everett for the reproof or retort, be it one or the other, caustic though a little reserved, as became his position, but plain enough withal, which he administers to his diplomatic correspondent, on the subject of our territorial acquisitions, compared with those of France and Eagland. If there is one chapter in the whole history of human hypocrisy, from the time of the parable of the Pharisec, who thanked God he was not as other men, and lespecially as that Publican, down to the last diatribe against the grasping propensity of the United States, more remarkable than any other for its inconsistency, it is that which records the boasts of European self-disinterestedness, compared with that Publican on the western side of the Atlantic, who covets all he sees and snatches all he can. Mr. Everett's defence of the history of our acquisitions is unanswerable, as well with relation to the means by which they were obtained, as to the meliorations resulting from them. Truly has he said, "Every addition to the territory of the American Union has given homes to European destitution and gardens to European want." And he might have added, with equal truth, freedom and the rights of man to European vassalage. He says, rather slyly, that the extensive accessions made to French and English dominion "have created no uncasiness in the United States," and that "probably"—he speaks with diplomatic doubt—"probably our accessions of territory, while following the example set us, caused no uncasines to the great European powers." Well done, Mr. Everett—well done! Addison could not have managed this retort with dryer humor nor in a happier vein of irony.

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Everett—well done! Addison could not have managed this retort with dryer humor nor in a happier vein of irony.

But to return to my remark, that this correspondence gives rise to some serious reflections. Why was this proposition for a tripartite treaty submitted to the United States? Not with the slightest belief that it would be accepted. There was not a member of the Freach or of the British cabinet, who did not know, as well before the project was referred to us as after, that the offer would be peremptorily rejected. They all understand our principles and our policy. They knew we were opposed to these "entangling alliances," for these are truly so, and they knew our views with respect to Cuba, and that we would not sacrifice our permanent interests to any such scheme.

Then why this solemn farce, of an invitation to do what it was known we would not do? Well, sir, there is but one rational answer to this inquiry. Those two governments are able to say to us, now and hereafter, we shall take our own course with respect to Cuba. We have asked your participation in the measures necessary for its security, and you have declined to join us. We are free to act as we please. We have given you warning that we do not recognise your right to acquire that island, and that we shall "disconstinance" all efforts that you may make to obtain possession of it. This declaration is explicitly made by the French government; and the same view is easily deducible from the letter of Mr. Crampton, where he speaks of there being something equivocal in the declaration of the United States, in consequence of the "juxtaposition" of the words "European" and "power," and inviting a plain disavowal of our intention ever to obtain possession of Cuba. This, of course, he neither got, nor expected to get.

Thus, then, stands this matter. France and England have assumed the right to decide upon the destiny of Coba, and bave asked the concurrence of the

United States in their proposed arrangements. This has been declined, and the two powers, upon their own principles, are free to regulate the whole subject, so far as they can agree in their policy. If they cannot do that, each of them will probably await the chapter of accidents, protesting or seizing, as one or the other may be in the ascendant; provided, however, that we sit still and philanthropically cry "Peace, peace," when there is no peace."

Now, sir, I have endeavored to show why these resolutions should pass. I have endeavored to show both our right and our duty to adopt them, and also that their adoption would have a powerful operation in checking projects of aggrandizement, which, without our interference, will go on to their consumnation. I do not presume to say that this solemn proceeding alone will, under all circumstances, secure our community from these dangers. But I do say, it will be heard, and not unheeded, and projects which, without it, would be, and perhaps promptly, carried into effect, will be, if not abandoned, at least delayed till a more concentent opportunity, which will come when pusillanimity guides the councils of our country, and not till then. Why, then, not say what we mean, and do as we say? Gentlemen opposed to this course, while they avow their indisposition to act, acknowledge, also, that our policy must be enforced by war, if necessary, should the effort bemade to thwart our policy and to endanger our safety. A highly estimable member of the House of Representatives, for whom I have much regard, has recently remarked that "He was not willing to sustain the resolutions—he was opposed to serving a John Doe and Richard Roe notice to the world," though he avowed his determination to act by force if European colonization should be attempted, or if there should be danger of any maritime mation taking Cuba. Then, why not say so, The declaration may de good, and can do no harm. No American, Mr. President, has the right to undervalue his country by subject to be decided on, unde

in the intercourse of nations, and therefore to be decided on, under existing circumstances. Why not serve a John Doe and Richard Roe notice to the world?

Passing by the sneer, in which I join, upon the clumsy contrivances of the common law, by pucrile fictions, to do indirectly what should be done directly, and looking to the object, and not to any form of expression, even though rendered unpalatable by its associations, the serving of that notice is precisely what we may do, as a just nation, what we ought to do as a wise nation, and what it becomes us to do as a frank and republican nation. Did not our fathers issue a John Doe and Richard Roe notice to the world on the Fourth of July, 1776, when we assumed a place among its independent communities, and did they not then announce certain great principles as fundamental articles of our political faith? And did not the Emperor of Russia, but the other day, issue also his John Doe and Richard Roe notice, in the form of a Muscovite decree, promutgated to Christendom, that nations should not be independent contrary to his pleasure? for that is the meaning of that memorable state paper, when divested of its diplomatic redundancy. And is not modern history full of these declarations, more or less just or unjust, as well as more or less grave, down to the blockading of a port even, which is made known by the same process?

So much for these two old pillars of the common law, thus converted into pillars of the public law of the world. And I take this occasion to add, that I saw with dismay that these two reverenced personages had been recently put to death by the British Parliament, the most proniment event in human progress that has occurred in my day. The old dryhones are really beginning to shake. I have no doubt but that this irreparable loss has been sincerely deplored, as well in England as in this country, by many a devout believer in the doctrine that all changes are changes for the worse, and that unless a head is covered with a horsehair wig, whatever may b

There is one redeeming and eacomazing reature of our public character, in all these contests between standing still and going on, and that is, that the national feeling, in all grave coajunctures has always gone ahead of the congressional feeling. I know of no exception. The latter pants after the former—but not entirely in vain—and it is best it should be so. The public instincts and judgments are right, and are animated with an ever active love of country, which feels its way and follows it turning neither to the right hand nor to the lett.

Mr. President. I am not going over the old ground of our manifest destiny, and the mission we have to fulfill, and other similar phrase—expletives, if you please—adopted into our political vocabulary, and which have provoked more criticism than they are entitled to. I take it they are all merely indicative of a strong impression of the mighty career that is before us, and of the different views that prevail of the duties and responsibilities it brings with it, as well towards outselve as the world. However these may be magnified or depressed, they cannot be avoited; and that the past, which alone force shadows the future, is alled with the most starting proofs of maximal for a generation has not vet wholly as evoluted; and that the past, which alone force shadows the future, is alled with the most starting proofs of maximal may be magnified or depressed, they cannot be avoited; and that they are a peaceful dependency of England; and he, who, by the khadness of Erweidence and the Favor of his fellow-citizens, is now permitted to address you, was born before the final acknowledgement of our independency of the purposes of taxridon. Such was our condition about the commencement of our Revolutionary struggle : and at its closs we found ourselves exhausted by the exertions we had made, and without internal trade, without external commerce, and, in fact, without a government and institutions as free as is compatible with the preservation of order, and have placed in a mong the